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ADDRESS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. MONTAGUE
OF VIRGINIA,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Society of Alumni of William and Mary College

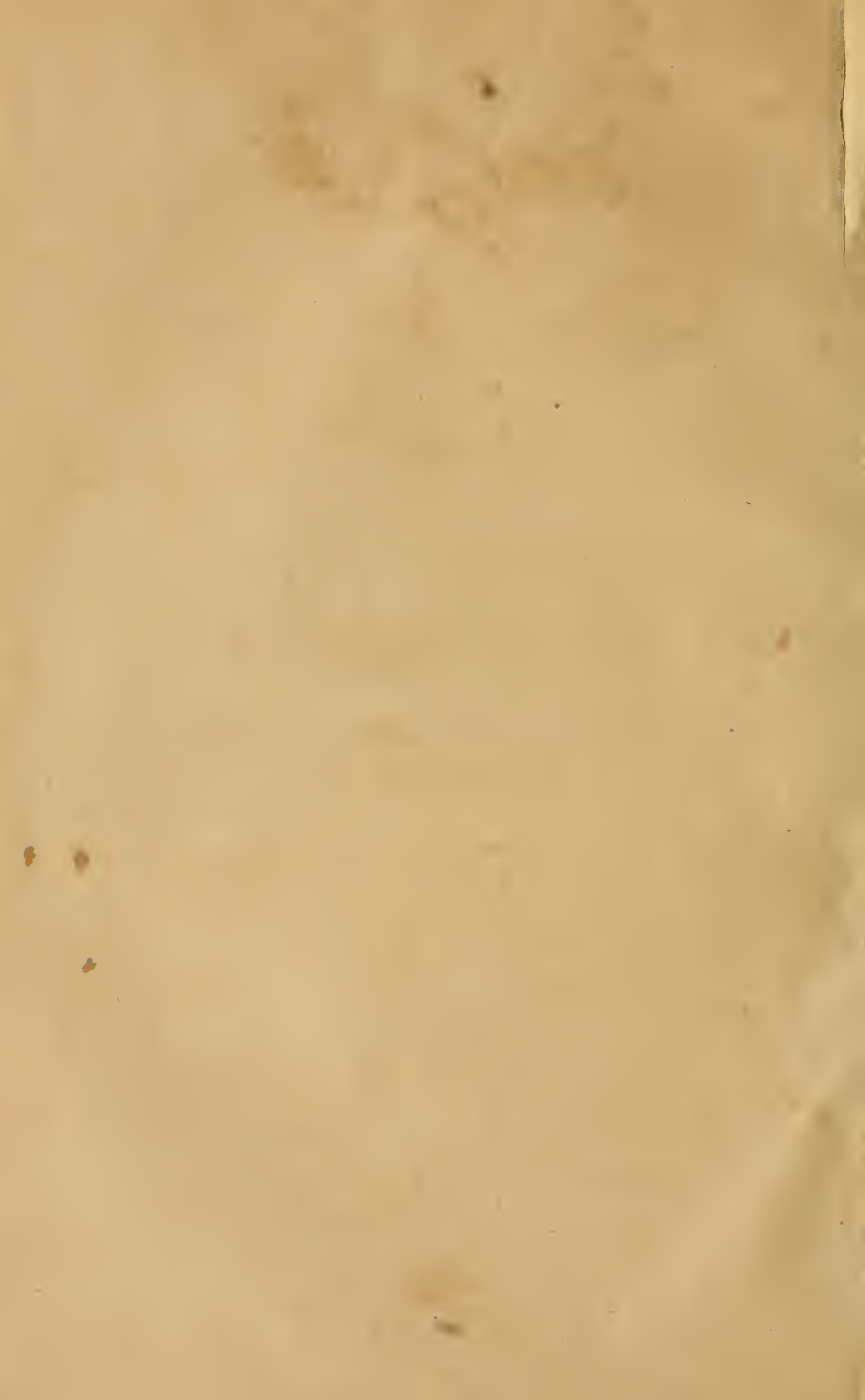
WILLIAMSBURG, VA.,

On the 4th of July, 1870.



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

CHAS. W. WILSON & CO., PRINTERS, ATLANTIC BLOCK, NORFOLK, VA.
1871.



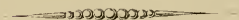
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ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY OF ALUMNI:

Amid the gloom of the present and the uncertainty of the future, it is a source of congratulation to feel that there are yet a few spots untouched by the iron hand of despotism, and unpolluted by the foul spirit of agrarian innovation.

Here, within these venerable walls, consecrated to learning and science, the relentless spirit of party and sectionalism has been reluctant to enter; and here, the mind untrammelled, is free to contemplate the great truths of philosophy, and investigate without molestation the principles of science, which, if rightly appreciated, tend to elevate human character, and dignify human conduct.

It has been said that "knowledge is power." This, in a certain sense, or to a certain extent, is true. Knowledge properly gained, and rightly employed, is power, is potent, all potent for good.—But superficial knowledge, or knowledge misapplied, or wrongly used, is power also; but it is a power for evil, a power which has wrung from millions tears of anguish; a power which has often retarded human progress, and frequently baptized nations in woe and misery. Knowledge without virtue is the most prolific of all agencies for evil. Madam De Stael strikingly said that "liberty, virtue, glory, knowledge, those kindred and closely allied ideas, which form the proud retinue that attends on the natural dignity of man, cannot possibly be insulated in a separate state of existence; the perfection of each of these results from the union of them all."

I shall not enter into, or dwell upon the minutiae or mere details of what the world calls education—but I propose to notice what is the high province of education in reference to the reformation of the world; and to this end I hold that all systems of education, or schemes of improvement, whether in the concrete, or otherwise should be held subordinate to the grand idea of the union of "liberty, virtue, glory, knowledge." Not

that mockery of liberty, which extorted from one the plaintive cry, "Oh! liberty, liberty, what crimes have been committed in thy name," but that liberty which when allied with "virtue and knowledge," carries blessings in its train.

It is then, in my humble judgment, the high office of education and the friends of education, to look constantly to, and seek after the means, which will produce such an extension of the true principles of learning as will finally eradicate error, and bring about the union of "liberty, virtue, glory, knowledge."

This, then, is the duty of all; and more especially is it the duty of those who sit in the higher seats of learning. The darkness which hovers over us at present is no excuse for supineness; the greater the gloom, the greater should be our efforts to dispel it. It is true, mournfully true, that red fiery war has stretched its desolating hand over our plains and along our valleys, and our people have suffered all its ineffable horrors, and experienced all its dire calamities.. It was here that "Red Battle stamped his foot, and nations felt the shock." While I see in this, much to lament, much to weep over, yet I see nothing which should cause us to hang our heads in shame, and cover our faces in hopeless despair. But, on the contrary, I believe we should arise from our lethargy, "shake off the dust from our feet," and determine, with God's help, that we will again travel the road of progress. Not that progress which travels too fast; not that progress which knows no law but its own unbridled will, and heeds no monitor save its own licentious passions; but that steady, wise and earnest progress which always leads to permanent and benign results.

Peace has been proclaimed, and shall we, *Virginians*, sons of *old William and Mary*, fold our arms in ignoble rest, and like Marius, amid the ruins of Carthage, weep away existence over the bitter remembrance of past glories? Let us arise, purified by our afflictions, renew our courage and resolve that we will resuscitate our State, and again place her where Washington and Mason left her, the foremost in all that makes up true greatness, among the States of the North American Confederation, if confederation it ever again shall be.

We should not despond, but should take courage from the experience of the world, and the history of all nations. The design of this address forbids an extended reference to history; but I ask what nation of any power or influence has not gone through what we have, and suffered what we are now enduring?

Look at solid and grand old England. How many intestine wars? how many cruel and merciless revolutions? how many of her sovereigns exiled or beheaded? how many bloody circuits—how many High Commission and Star Chamber

decrees mark her history? Yea, blot, if not disgrace it! Yet, by steady and unswerving perseverance she has overcome them all, and stands, to-day, in all that makes a people great, the peer if not the superior of the States of the Old World. Behold France; active, restless, mercurial France. Through what vicissitudes has she passed? How often has she seen the mobocratic fury, the fierce spirit of Demon itself, sweep over her confines? Yet she is still great and powerful France. The equal of the greatest of the nations of the earth. The annals of our race present many dark passages, many dreary periods of disappointment, disgust and despondency; they exhibit to us generation after generation writhing in dull agony, and vainly contending against the difficulties by which they are beset, with hardly consolatory memory transmitted from the ancestral time, with hardly a hope of improving fortune, to gild the fortunes of the future. It is a sad spectacle, and history is full of such melancholy pictures, nevertheless, the world through all its changes has lingeringly lived on, and despite the most ominous premonitions, has continued to survive, and, like the Phoenix, to renew its youth at the appointed time.

Wars are terrible and dire calamities, the sorest evils of humanity; but they are inseparable incidents of the weakness and vice of poor fallen man. Wars and great national convulsions have been permitted by Providence from the beginning of history. For what purpose, we may be too short-sighted to see. It may be that they are designed to purify society; to develope and keep alive the manhood of a people; to prevent that weak effeminacy and listless enervation of mind and body, far more deleterious to a people than the bloodiest wars. Be the design what it may, such is the fact. War has ever been occurring and recurring, and this will continue 'till the approach of that glorious period, when all men shall acknowledge as their rightful ruler, Him, who is the King of Kings, and Lord of all.

Seeing that woe and misery have been the heritage of all people, it becomes our duty, and should be our high aim, to rise from the slumbers which oppress us, to forget as much as possible, the horrors of the past, and in the fear of God, *but not of man*, to go vigorously to work, to build up the waste places around us, physical, intellectual, and moral. This, at present, is the imperative obligation of every true Virginian. Here in this venerable college the solid foundations of this great work were laid 1693. Here we are operating in the intellectual and moral field, a field broad and expansive, and "already white for the harvest." A noble and heaven-descended work is this. Large enough to occupy the whole capacity of the mightiest, and

honorable enough to fill the full measure of the ambition of the most ambitious. He who shall here succeed in instilling correct principles into the minds of ten youths, will have done a great work. He may send forth ten Lots, who, perchance, may save a worse than Sodom.

And this brings us to the great question, how shall man be properly educated? He who thinks and teaches that it can be accomplished by operating upon the *exterior* and neglecting the *interior*—the *heart*, is a shallow thinker, and a dangerous teacher. If the interior be right, then the exterior may be adorned and beautified, and the inseparable sympathy between the two, will make up, so far as can be done in this world, the perfect man.—But let the heart be wrong, and all external appliances will be but the building up of a magnificent and splendid structure on a foundation of sand—it may be fair and beautiful to look upon, but at the first blast of the storm of adversity, it will fall and fall irreparably.

A great deal has been said and written concerning the education of the world, and men of great erudition and distinction, such as Guizot, Temple, and others have put forth and advocated the false doctrine, that “governments and institutions make the people.” That is, if the outward sepulchre be white and beautiful, there will be no “dead men’s bones” within. Mr. Guizot, in his work on civilization, says, the inward is reformed by the outward, as the outward by the inward. That is, if the outward of man be comely and fascinating, the inward will be the same. That if the exterior be such as is calculated to increase human pride, and flatter human vanity, this is to reform the interior, the heart, and make all within pure and lovely. Was ever doctrine more false or fallacious? And this is the dominant idea of this country. This is what is called the progress of the age, that onward advance, which nothing is to obstruct, this, the onward march whose goal is a universal human millennium, the panacea for all the ills which “flesh is heir to.” In other words, this idea takes everything from God. It is the idea of the Red Republicans of France and the Black Republicans of America. A profound thinker and elegant writer of our time has said, “that even in the convention of 1787, which framed the Constitution of the United States, the French school prevailed over the English school of politicians, and gave an ascendancy to the principles of Turgot, Rousseau, and other infidel philosophers of the last century.” (Southern Review, vol. 1, p. 15.) And these French principles called “evil good, and good evil.” They discarded and rejected the teachings of the prophet, pronounced in that awful malediction, “Woe unto them that call

evil good and good evil, that put darkness for light and light for darkness."

In relation to these principles and their advocates—and they produced the French Revolution of 1789—Mons. De Tocqueville says, "if the men of the Revolution were more irreligious than we are, they were imbued with one admirable faith which we lack; they *believed in themselves*. They had a robust faith in man's perfectability and power; they were eager for his glory, and trustful in his virtue. *They had no doubt they were appointed to transform society and regenerate the human race*. When religion fled from these men's souls, they were not left void and debilitated, as is usually the case; its place was temporarily occupied by ideas and feelings which engrossed the mind, and did not allow it to collapse. These sentiments and passions became *a sort of new religion*." Here we see from high authority, what were the principles of 1789, and the same author tells us that there is no country in the world "where the principles of the French philosophers of the eighteenth century have been so generally adopted and applied to practice as in the United States of America."

We know that these French teachings are predominant in this country. We *know* what evil they wrought in France, and, alas! alas! we have *felt* and are now feeling what they have done here. As in France, so here, "as each began with being a god to himself, so soon he ended with becoming a devil to his neighbor."

This is the progress of this age and this country. This is the "new religion," at whose inexorable edict all men must fall down and worship, or be cast into the world's utter darkness. This is the great, erroneous and false idea, the correction of which, is the peculiar and high function of education. The schools and colleges must combat it at every point. It is an impious and soul-destroying doctrine. It arrogates all to self and gives nothing to God. It entirely overlooks the eternal truth that unless the fountain be pure, the waters will be as bitter as those of Marah. It proposes that the outward demeanor and actions of man shall reform the world, while the heart, the whole inner man, is all deceit and corruption. It entirely ignores the grand and true idea that until the heart is purified by the power and grace of God, the external actions of man will be but evil. It connives at the fact, that we live in "miserable days of external splendor and internal rottenness." "What true progress has there ever been except where Christianity has prevailed?"—What in China, the oldest and largest of earth's imperial dominions? What in Asia? In Africa? or in the Isles of the

ocean, except here and there a few bright little spots, upon which the bloody cross of Christ has been erected? The States of Christendom alone, "in the true sense, obey the law of progress," and they are gradually though slowly gaining on the darkness and barbarism of the heathen world! Milton, the great creative genius of his age, and a christian, comprehended the true idea, when he wrote:

Alas! what can they teach and not mislead,
 Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
 And how the world began, and how man fell.
 Degraded by himself, on grace depending?
 Much of the soul they talk, but all away,
 And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves
 All glory arrogate, to God give none.
 * * * * *
 Deep versed in books, and shallow in themselves,
 Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys,
 And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge,
 As children gathering pebbles on the shore."
 * * * * *

All progress which emanates from any other source than the radiant point which recognizes God as the true fountain of all good and beneficent actions, are movements in the wrong direction and will carry error and misery in their train. I admire art and science. I feel a due pride in their achievements and triumphs, but these are despoiled of their beauty and true glory, when they are elevated above God. Science may number the stars in the firmament above. It may measure the fountains of the great deep, and calculate with accuracy the altitude of its foaming, angry billows. It may span the oceans with its electric wires, and cause one continent to vibrate at the touch of the other.— Art may perpetuate upon canvass the features of those long silent in the repose of death, but what of all this unless God shall be acknowledged as the great author of all? Whence came the human intellect so prolific of *inventive* genius? Whence the elements and agencies with which this intellect can operate? Are all these the productions of weak, feeble man? No! no! they are benignant gifts, merciful emanations from that Being, who "spake as man never spake," who said "let there be light, and there was light." To Him and to Him alone should be given all the glory for man's achievements. The progress of the Son of God is the only true reformation. "His reform begins with the very heart of society, and works itself out upon the surface. Though he found the world full of governmental abuse, he assailed none of these things directly, but inculcating submission to the powers that be, he sought to bring those powers themselves under the glorious dominion of truth, and

justice, and mercy. Though his kingdom is not of this world; yet, for all the kingdoms of this world has he planted principles and powers, which shall gradually work out all their abuses, and mould them into better and still better forms. His eye is ever on the perfect, on the absolutely beautiful and right, on the radiant image of all good; yet, in the pursuit of this infinitely grand ideal, we see none of the stormy violence or impatient weakness of human reformers; on the contrary, passing by, with superhuman silence, the great external abuses around Him, He addresses himself directly to the great heart of humanity, without the renovation of which, external changes are of no avail. Instead of cutting off one tyrant here, or crushing one abuse there, he seeks to enlighten the understanding everywhere, to purify the affections and to fashion the will aright, in order that all abuses and tyrannies may die out of the world, and disappear from among men. In one word, He aims to make society all-glorious within, in order that she may put on such external form as best becomes her glorified state. And in all this, we scarcely know which the more to admire, the calm energy with which he works, or the God-like patience with which He waits.—(Southern Review, 1st vol., p. 19.)

Here we see the true ground of all education. Mere intellectual power can never elevate the world to the standard of true greatness. Antiquity had its orators, statesmen, poets and philosophers. In mere intellectual power, it is doubtful if they have ever been surpassed. But was man elevated to his true position? Where are the principalities, powers and kingdoms of those ages? Was man by any of their systems brought to know himself, his weaknesses, his follies and his corruptions? The teachings of Cicero and others are wonderful triumphs of purely intellectual greatness, but even these fell short, far short of the true point of man's destiny. It was not 'till the Rose of Sharon spread its sweet and purifying odors upon the face of the world, that man began to move in the right direction.

The moral power of God's spirit, as it quietly moves over the universe, is the great lever by which the world is to be raised and lifted from the sin and degradation in which it is buried. It is, then, moral power which is to elevate the world. The Bible and all the true lights of the Christian church teach this, and the history of the world, and the experience of mankind confirm it. If it were not so, how could the world ever be elevated to that high moral grandeur which it will ultimately attain? Admit that intellectual power *alone* is competent to the great task, and I ask, how, when, and where the unnumbered millions of the poverty-stricken children of earth can ever attain

this power? By the sweat of whose face will the world be clothed and fed, while these mighty numbers shall be acquiring this power? Herein we see the wisdom of the Creator, and that his plan of educating the world can be accomplished without interrupting the avocations of life, or disturbing the harmonies of society. This knowledge, the knowledge essential to education in its true sense, can be acquired in the day-schools and colleges, in the churches and in the Sabbath schools, in the workshops and counting-rooms, in the fields and forests, and upon the "ever rising billows of the sea." Then the great end and aim, and purpose of all true education should be to elevate man to the grand and glorious point of a believer in Christ. Every teacher in all the land, in every school and college should be a true and earnest missionary of the cross. All his labors, all his patience, and all his trials should tend as steadily to this grand object "as the needle points to the pole." Then will the world be lifted from the deep waters of degradation, in which it is buried, to the Mount Ararat of safety. Then will be seen and felt the consummation of human felicity. Then the noble destiny of man on earth will be fulfilled, and peace, truth and justice reign triumphantly through the whole of God's mighty creation. As I have before said, it is not my purpose to enter into the details or minutiae of education, but to point out some of the heresies and errors of the age, which it is the province and duty of education to correct.

I next notice the modern dogma "that all men are created equal." This is one of the offshoots of the error I have been combatting, and a more glaring fallacy and dangerous heresy was never presented to an ignorant and credulous world. Is an ignorant and degraded Hottentot, a wild and savage Arab, a conceited Japanese or Chinaman equal to Bacon or Milton, to Newton or Locke? Could all the culture of all the schools and colleges produce this equality? The truth is, this doctrine is the creature of infidelity, and will always bring confusion, discord and strife. It unsettles the firmest foundations of human society, and is pregnant with the seed of universal destruction to all good institutions, and will blast the best and purest of human aspirations. In some respects all created beings and things have equal rights. All have an equal right to the waters of creation, to breathe the air of heaven, and to share in the breezes which cool the hot and arid plains. All men have an equal right to call on the law for the protection and vindication of their legal rights, but any thing of a general and universal equality, in the social, political, and physical—and I might say moral—world, is repugnant to reason and in conflict with the divine economy of Providence. as seen in all his created works. If all men were created equal, all

would be Burkes or Marshalls, lunatics or idiots. But look at the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Are all the beasts of the field, all the fishes of the sea, equal? Are all the birds of the air? You have seen two stalks of corn in the same field, in soil of equal fertility, both receiving the same attention, and upon the one, you have seen the full grown, matured ear, and upon the other, the shriveled, dried up dwarf, unfit for man or beast. You have seen two trees of the same orchard, taken from the same parent stock, planted alike, subjected to the same culture, and upon one you have seen the ripe luscious fruit, and upon the other a noxious, offensive nondescript, from which the swine of the field would turn with disgust. You have seen children of the same parents, rocked in the same cradle, fondled upon the same maternal and loving lap, sent to the same schools and colleges, subjected precisely to the same mental and moral training and when grown to the full stature of manhood, the one has been an intellectual giant, the other not six points above an idiot.—Will the advocates of general and universal equality explain this? There is but one solution, which is this, this inequality arises from the sovereignty and all power of God. If all men were created equal, why does not equality exist after creation? If all men were equal, infidelity would deny to God omnipotence, by declaring Him unequal to the exercise of the sovereign power of creating one being superior to another. It would deny to Him the power to create “one vessel to honor and another to dishonor,” to decree that one star shall shine brighter than another star. That He could not create the sun, with all his transcendent glories, superior to the moon, whose lesser glory pales into darkness at the appearance of his radiant splendor. If, then, there is no such reality as general equality in the animate and inanimate world, why, I ask, should there be any exception in the case of man?

Did not the same great Being speak all into existence? Had He not power and authority to impress His irreversible will of inequality upon man, as well as upon His inferior creatures and things? Has he not created some with one talent, and some with five; and is not the obligation to improve the one as great as that to improve the five?

“Independent of any positive regulations, the unequal industry and virtues of men must necessarily create unequal rights. But it is said all men are equal because they have an equal right to justice, or to the possession of their rights. The reason here assigned embodies a self-evident truth which no one ever denied; and it amounts to nothing more than to the identical proposition than all men have equal right to their rights; for when different

men have perfect and absolute rights to unequal things, they are certainly equal with regard to the perfection of their rights, or the justice that is due to their respective claims. This is the only sense to which equality can be applied to mankind. In the most perfect republic that we can conceive of, the proposition is false and mischievous: the father and child, the master and servant, the judge and prisoner, the general and common soldier, the representative and constituent, must be eternally unequal and have unequal rights.”—(1 Black. Com. p. 309).

Subordination in every society is the bond of its existence; the highest, and the lowest individuals derive their strength and security from their mutual assistance and dependence; as in the natural body, *the eye cannot say to the head, I have no need of thee*; nor again the head to the feet, “I have no need of you.”

“Milton was so well convinced of the necessity of subordination and degrees, that he makes Satan, even when warring against the King of Heaven, address his legions thus:”

“If not equal all, yet free,
Equally free; for orders and degrees
Jar not with liberty, but well consist.”

Shakspeare, the great master of human character and human passions, beautifully expressed the same idea, when he wrote:

“Take but degree away, untune that string:
And hark, what discord follows, each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy.
Strength would be lord of imbecility,
And the rude son would strike the father dead.
Force would be right; or rather right and wrong,
Between whose endless jar justice resides,
Would lose their names, and so would justice too.”

In this general inequality we again see the wisdom of our beneficent Creator; for if all men were equal, there would be no field for that noble and magnanimous emulation in art and science, which has done so much to improve our world; to alleviate the pains and mollify and soothe the sorrows of weak and fallen man. All equal! then this world would become one great stagnant pool, with not vitality enough to move its calm and waveless surface to one ripple of grand and noble action! Let us then at once and forever discard and reject this noxious and poisonous heresy: this pernicious offshoot of the French principles of 1789; this procrustean dogma, which makes men equal by stretching the limbs of some and lopping those of others, Let us recognize the reality of things as we see them; as they have been planned and arranged by Providence; let each with honesty and fidelity, apply himself to the culture of the talent

he has ; let each, with severe vigor and stern devotion to truth and justice, perform the duties, *all the duties*, of the sphere in which he has been placed, and then will the world blossom as the rose, and its fruits be more beautiful and luscious than those of the garden of the ancient Hesperides. Let us not impiously attempt to improve upon the inscrutable wisdom of God, but let our constant efforts be to conform our lives and our actions to His will so far as revealed to us ; then shall we be truly and surely preparing and educating the world for that glorious period of fraternal equality when the "lamb and lion shall lie down together," and the stormy passions of man no more shall rise to jar the sweet concord of nature's music, or disturb the beautiful harmonies of God's creation.

Closely allied to this idea of equality is another heresy, which has often filled the nations of the earth with bitter wailings and piercing lamentations. I mean that principle of evil deeply imbedded in the human heart, which is always reluctant to obey any law, to submit to any restraint, but man's own unbridled will.

I call this principle *radicalism* : I do not, however, use it in the party sense of the present time, but I use it because the term best expresses my idea of the evil I shall endeavor to point out. This is no new principle. It is coeval with man ; It was this which caused Adam to rebel in the garden of Eden ; and from that day to the present the world has been cursed with its presence.

Adam was commanded not to do a certain thing, but his spirit rebelled, and he substituted *his will* for the command of his creator ; and thus began sin and insubordination. From that unhappy moment the world has labored under untold and unnumbered ills.

If time allowed, it might be useful to trace its effects upon mankind. But this cannot be done in one address—it would take volumes to give correctly, and portray with accuracy its cruel and almost numberless horrors ; suffice it to say it was this which overthrew the ancient republics. During the middle ages it was somewhat checked and restrained by the feudal barbarism which then prevailed. After this it was seen working out the subversion of the modern Italian republics.

In France it grew and strengthened, till it culminated in the revolution of 1789, when all its accumulated horrors seem to have been emptied upon the heads of her ill-fated and unhappy people.

It has ever been—and most wicked things are—a live and active principle in the world. At this very time it is faithfully manifesting itself throughout the old world. The popular cry

of reform, of restless insatiate desire for change, now ringing through the British Isle, under the teachings of Bright, Mills, and others, are but the premonitory symptoms of the approaching storm. Indeed, the whole European continent is vibrating under the electric influence of its mighty touch. That great and inimitable critic, and profound thinker, Carlyle, has long since spoken, and said "the speaking class may speak and debate for itself, but the great dumb, deep buried class lies like an Enceladus, who in his pain, if he complains of it, produces earthquakes." People are always complaining: The spirit of *innovation*, of change, is wafted upon every breeze, and unless restrained by the enlightening influence of some principle, or physical force, it will burst forth, and the world will feel the shock of earthquakes.

Here in this country, we have seen and felt, to the full extent, the enormities of this destructive doctrine. Here the democratic idea has been pushed too far, and when thus extended it becomes pure radicalism. Here, every man (and I suppose it will soon be every woman too) is not only a voter, but every man is a sovereign; and when all become sovereign, who shall be supreme? who shall control? This democratic principle is now so predominant in this land, that I ask what influence intellect and property exert? Property, next to the christian religion, is the great conservative civilizing agency of the world. Is not property here subject to the control of the great propertyless and ignorant multitude, who know nothing and care less, of the great truths which underlie all well-regulated societies and governments? The modern American idea that every man must vote, that there must be universal suffrage, and *universal elections*, is the wildest and most eutopian scheme, the most stupid nonsense that ever entered the head of man; one which has never brought forth any good, but always has been fraught with the most dire consequences. This idea, when carried to its logical results, means liberty without the restraint of law, and liberty not controlled by law, is but the worst form of anarchy and despotism. Yet, if one sees it, and is independent and bold enough to proclaim what he sees, immediately the insane shout is raised, crucify him, crucify him; he is an enemy to the people and to "the progress of the age." Poor creatures! I pity and forgive them, "for they know not what they do." But some of the leaders know better; these leaders "of the blind," are fast conducting the people, and the whole country, to anarchy and ruin; but if they can get the five loaves and the two small fishes, what care they for people, country, or God?

I am, and always have been, a democrat, but never a *mobocrat*.

I believe a democratic government, a representative government, (such as the governments established in '76 and '87), is the best human organization, which the world ever has ever seen; in these the people were so fully represented, and the responsibility of the representative to the constituent so direct, and so well understood and appreciated, that there could be no danger of any permanent abuse of power. But we have nothing of this sort now. Give me the democratic government of my fathers, and no man will do more than I will, in my humble sphere, to vindicate and uphold it. I am the warm friend of a democracy defined and restrained by law; but the enemy of that mad and wild mobocracy, falsely called democracy, which rules the hour.

Will any man, after solemn and calm reflection, tell me what produced our late terrible civil war, not rebellion, *but great civil war*? Was it not the extension of the democratic feature in our system to universal suffrage, to universal elections? sectional feelings, sectional hate, and sectional organization, have been the "Iliad" of all our woes; and these now engendered, developed, and nursed into being by the cause referred to. Did the framers and ratifiers of the constitution of the United States ever contemplate such an enlargement of the elective franchise as we have witnessed? I have not the time, or is this the occasion, to cite their opinions, but I challenge any one to show me any opinion, or expression of the conscript fathers, sanctioning or approving the doctrines which are now the common law of this land. Can our system, or any other, stand such a pressure without explosion? Can there be any community of high and pure civilization without a combination of persons and property? If you have a community of persons alone it would be a band of savages. Was there ever any civilization where property in some form did not exist, and receive the protection of law? If there is no law to protect property, will the law of might, the brute force of the multitude, do it? Can there be any solid, permanent governmental organization, unless property, one of the great conservative civilizers of the world, has protection in the departments of government by a voice and influence in the selection of the representatives, or administrators thereof? It is a cruel and inhuman doctrine, that whatever the majority wills, is right, provided it has the material power to enforce its will; and this it now the supreme law of this land. That it will lead to anarchy and ruin, the wise and prudent must see. Come it must, unless the voice of reason shall reach, and enter the heads and hearts of the great mass of the American people; and when it does come the North as well as the South will feel the shock, and reel under its merciless blows. Then will be felt and

realized all the unwritten horrors of the French revolution.

But why lift my feeble voice in the vain effort to arrest the progress of this fell destroyer? I answer error fattens and grows by its own inherent strength, and now is the time to warn, and if possible, to arouse the people to a true sense of their danger, that in the hour of infuriate madness, reason will have no abiding place, that hope, of all man's comforts, is the last to leave him, that human passions have their reactionary seasons; and I have some glimmering hope, though I confess it is feeble and faint, that this reaction may set in before the storm shall burst; and if one little word from me shall be effectual in causing some to pause and reflect, then I shall have done some good to my race.

Why will not men reflect and see whither this mad spirit of mobocratic fury is leading them? If they will think for a moment they must see its sad results all around them.

It was the wild cry of "*vox populi, vox Dei*," which caused a happy and prosperous people—a people speaking the same common language, inhabiting a land, washed by the same great oceans, worshipping the same great common Father, to bathe their hands in fraternal blood, to forget a common brotherhood, and slay each other as if they were made by God for that cruel and inhuman purpose.

But it may be asked if there is no antidote for this fearful poison? "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physican here?" Yes, there is "balm in Gilead;" there is a "physician here." But they must be sought and used. They are to be found in the hearts of the people. The remedy is there. The axe must be laid at the root of the tree.

Let the great heart of the people be purified, and the malady will be healed. This can be effected by a proper system of education, and to accomplish this, is the grand purpose of all true education. Such an education of the people as begins and ends with the heart, is the sure, the only cure for the terrible malady which afflicts us. All other attempted remedies will be quackeries, the most dangerous and dreadful of all quackeries, because they will bring calamity and ruin upon a whole.

I have thus attempted in my poor way to point out some of the prominent and dominant errors of the age, and have attempted to show that is the duty of education in its true and just sense, to eradicate these errors, and heal these diseases.

And what part shall old William and Mary perform in this great work of lifting up the human race to the lofty heights of true greatness and true glory? The first intellectual light of our noble old State was kindled upon her venerable altars; and

from these altars she has sent into the world some of its most gifted statesmen, its grandest orators, and most distinguished jurists and heroes. When I remember these things, as one of her humblest sons, I feel that she should not be laggard in the noble race to be run. Thrice purified by the consuming element of fire, she stands rehabilitated in her ancient garments, and shrines with all her pristine splendors. Resuscitated and revived she stands to-day where she has always stood, and is ready and willing to lead to honor, virtue and glory the children of our oppressed, but beloved old commonwealth. Her claims upon our people are pre-eminent. Her teachings and utterances have always been sound conservative and eminently practical. Her history is a bright portion of the fame of Virginia, and as long as Virginia's name shall claim a place in history, the deeds of William and Mary will stand recorded. It was here, I have no doubt, that Jefferson conceived the grand idea of our noble State University; and she sits here to-day the mother of all the colleges in the State, with no feeling of rivalry or jealousy to any of her daughters.

There is room for all; the youths of the land are hungering and thirsting for correct and useful knowledge, and while the *Alumni* of this College desire to see all other institutions flourish, they love their *Alma Mater*. She materially aided them in whatever of success they have achieved. They feel a just pride in her history, and in her triumphs. Thrice carried through the consuming flames of fire, they have seen her, Phoenix-like, arise from her ashes more beautiful than ever, fully adorned, armed and equipped for the struggle before her. What other institutions has survived, or could survive, these fiery ordeals but this venerable mother of learning. Shall she be forsaken? Shall she ever have cause to point to any one of her sons, and exclaim: "*Tu quoque Brute?*" I feel not, I hope a filial love still warms in the hearts of her sons. Can they ever forsake her; can those alive forget those who sleep in death, and above all can they ever forget, or renounce the pure principles which she has ever inculcated?

She made the statesman and philosophers, who gave practical form, shape and direction to the only teachings by which man can govern himself. It is fashionable now-a-days to deride and laugh at these, but "truth crushed to earth, shall rise again."

Yes, old William and Mary will again be lifted up, she will again receive the aid of the virtuous and good. The pure streams of intellectual and moral philosophy will again flow from this grand old fountain, to invigorate and fructify our Commonwealth. Virginia and William and Mary, one and inseparable. Together they fell, together they will rise!

Virginia! Virginia! Bloody war has rolled its desolating waves over her borders. Hundreds of her truest and most gifted sons sleep the quiet sleep of death, beneath the shadows of her mountains, beside the still waters of her rivulets, amid her shady groves, beautified and adorned by the fair hands and tender touch of her peerless and matchless daughters. Thousands repose uncoffined in the bosom of mother earth, with not even rude stones to mark the spots where her jewels are buried. But still, she is dear, honored, proud old Virginia, not as Macaulay said of Dante, too proud and sensitive to be happy, but too proud to descend to meanness, and too noble to perpetrate injustice upon the feeblest.

Oppressed she may be, but not humiliated or dishonored. Man can oppress and torture his fellow-man, but man cannot humiliate. This belongs to God alone. The body may be cruelly tormented, but the spirit is God's, and as long as that is self conscious of virtuous rectitude, the acts of man, however harsh and rigorous, can never humiliate. There is something within which laughs to scorn the petty cruelties and wicked follies of malignant man. Virginia humiliated and dishonored! When the names of Washington and Henry, of Madison and Marshall, of Mason and Jefferson, of Pendleton and Grayson, of Monroe and Richard Henry Lee, of Wythe and Roane, of Giles and Randolph, of Rives and Leigh, of Tyler and Tazewell, of Stanard and Upshur, of Dew and Tucker, of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, shall be torn from the rolls of fame; when her everlasting mountains shall bow their crests to the level of the valleys beneath; when all veneration for departed greatness and worth; when all respect for heroic actions and admiration for virtuous deeds, shall have taken their eternal flight from earth; when the inspiring charms and fascinating graces of woman shall cease to affect the conduct of man; when ignoble actions, base deeds shall be admired and respected by all the nations of the earth, then, but not till then, will Virginia hang her head in humiliation and dishonor.

Then let all true sons of Virginia arouse themselves to a just sense of her position, and instead of engaging in the angry partisan conflict of the hour, let them bear with patience, dignified submission, and true manhood, the ills which afflict them, and bind all their energies of mind and body to the resuscitation of their State. Let them develop her physical resources, elevate her moral position, and enlarge, adorn, and beautify her intellectual borders.

The grand *role* she has played in the history of the world can

never be effaced. It may take years to regain her former position; but what is time in the life of a State? It may be that she will never again see such a system of representative government as she aided in creating in 1787. I do not think she will. The great principle of American public law, first enunciated in an authoritative form by one of the sons of William and Mary, that "governments instituted among men, derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," has, for the time being, been discarded and set at naught, and it may never be revived. But no matter what may be the shape and form of the system finally settled upon, if Virginia will be true to herself just to her past history, and ever mindful of her past glories, she will in the new and untried experiments, be what she always has been, the friend of truth and justice, the advocate and promoter of whatever tends to mitigate human suffering, or to elevate and ennoble human character.

Let us then, sons and daughters of Virginia, here, within these venerated walls, make anew our covenants with each other, and with one accord, raise our vows to Heaven, that our future efforts shall be, as they have been in the past, true to the ancient glories and traditions of our State and character of our people. That, instead of despairing, we will take courage from our present grievances, and bear them with no weak, whining and obsequious complaints, but, that with true greatness of soul, we will rise above them all, and exemplify to the world with what patience and fortitude a true and brave people can bear the ills of "man's inhumanity to man." Then shall all men see that all the powers of earth and darkness combined, can never extinguish in our bosoms the love of "liberty, virtue, glory, knowledge."

Let us ever remember that Virginia is our country, that we have "a Sparta, let us adorn it." That it is here,

"Where health and plenty cheer the laboring swain,
Where smiling spring its earliest visits pay,
And parting summer's lingering blooms delay."

Let us see that the fires of purity and truth shall ever burn brightly upon her altars; let us do what we can to correct the pernicious errors of the day by spreading broadcast the true light of education and religion. Then will she rise from the troubles of the hour, and clothed in the christian panoply of true greatness, will stand forth the pure, dignified and adored mother of us all, and by the force of her great example will other states be purified of their vices and cured of their cruel heresies, and false theories. Then will Virginia stand proudly erect before mankind, worthy of the wisdom of her

great founders, and worthy of her name, *which is the synonym of purity itself*. Then will this venerable pile be radiant with the light of "liberty, virtue, glory, knowledge." Virginia and William and Mary, *one and inseparable! Esto perpetua!*







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